

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE SENATE.

The minds of men have been absorbed in the consideration of that colossal swindle, the Pacific Scandal, followed as it has been by the Tanneries Land Swap, and the prodigious expenditure attending the inquiries which followed. They have therefore overlooked a gross offence which, since the creation of the Senate, you have continuously committed or at least connived at. Seeing, however, that the most guilty of the perpetrators of the first of the above-mentioned crimes have, by re-election, resumed their places in Parliament, and are dabbling in legislative measures, I propose to awaken you to a sense of your own short-comings.

Every Senator is entitled for every Session to \$1000 every Legislative Councillor of the Province of Quebec is for every session entitled to six hundred dollars. Such (without remark) is the fact. Now one Senator at least, being both a member of the Senate and of the Legislative Council receiving both allowances, both stipends, pockets annually \$1600. I speak of Mr. James Ferrier, bred a grocer, who representing the division of Victoria in Montreal sits at the rate of \$600 in the Legislative Council, *now in session*, and also as representing the Division of Shawanagan sits in your Senate, *now also in session* at the rate of \$1000 annually. It is certainly more profitable than dispensing gin and brandy over a counter, but is it consistent with the respectability and efficiency of the Senate, with the honor of individual members, with the interest of the Dominion, with the peace of the community? Whatever may be your answer to these questions, in fact Mr. James Ferrier has, during the whole period of the existence of the Senate and Legislative Council, always been, and still is, a member of the Upper Houses both of the Dominion and of the Provincial Legislature, and thus acquired a title to both allowances.

You know the part that he plays in your House—his vote

but yesterday recorded against the Bill for promoting union among the Presbyterian churches is a notorious proof of the course which he pursues in the Legislative Council, now sitting in Quebec.

Whatever may be the grounds upon which this excellent judge of treacle has been so favored I avail myself of the occasion to recall to your recollection the question solemnly propounded in Parliament by Mr. Disraeli. He wished to know why the Americans hated the English. Now had he been acquainted with the pre-revolutionary history of the thirteen colonies, he would have known that the partiality to Europeans by which that period was cursed excluding the natives from every hope of distinction, excited the detestation of the English which culminated in the revolution, and, descending traditionally from sire to son, is felt to this day. And the same causes always produce the same effects.

I am descended from an officer in Wolfe's army. His services after the conquest being required by the officers in command in this country he consented to sell out, and he applied the price of his commission to the purchase of the fiefs of Granpré, Grosbois, and Dumontier. These became mine by inheritance, and lying within the Division of Shawanegan conferred on me a right to be called to the Senate. A right, I say, founded on my birth in Canada, on my capacity and education, on my experience and rank as a representative in Parliament during 12 years. I can also not only invoke the fluency with which I speak two languages, and a career of fifty years at the Bar, but my claim is supported by the well-known facts that I have shed my blood in the performance of important military services, and have preserved order in the City of Montreal under circumstances of great peril to its citizens. Indeed since George Washington saved the wreck of Braddock's army, no Provincial has had the opportunities of which, by God's blessing, I have availed myself. But it may be said that I have ceased to possess political influence. That may be accounted for by

the fact that those estates are in what is called the French country as is also my other property in the environs of the City of Quebec. This, however, in nowise detracts from the beneficial influence which my local knowledge might enable me to exercise, especially as a medium of communication between the unrepresented Protestant minority and the Government. Being, unfortunately, what is here called a heretic, I can not hope for the favor of the Priesthood, a class who control and govern all the others who, in the interest of their caste select the representatives and dictate to the Government. I am, nevertheless, qualified to sit in the Legislative Council, but the preference was given first to Mr. McGreevy, because he was a Papist, and, upon his resignation to Mr. Sharples, a European, because he also was a Papist.

But the three nominations to the Senate are even more full of significance, the first, Baillargeon, being the brother of a Bishop, the second, Panet, the nephew of a Bishop, and upon the latter's appointment to a lucrative office, the third, Fabre, another brother of another Romish Bishop. These preferences are not accidental, and the excitement caused by the murder of Scott and the pretensions of his co-religionists as well as the recent murder in New Brunswick, and the war waged in Montreal against the followers of Chiniquy, must convince the least prescient of you that within fifteen years this community will be, must be, involved in civil war. Ultramontanism will be satisfied with nothing less. Then ours is a system without adhesion—we have the forms of monarchy without its essence. In the interest of his dynasty, a resident sovereign would by wise precautions (among others by rewarding loyalty) ensure the permanence of order, and a native Viceroy attached to his country would, by controlling the ecclesiastical element, as is done in most Popish countries, conduce to the same result.

At a time during which the profession of the reformed faith was not a ground of exclusion my father was a Legislative Councillor, as his uncle, one of the conquerors of

Canada, had been—and none but those who affect, *gratuitously affect* to hold that man degenerates in America can doubt that I ought to have been preferred to Mr. Ferrier—preferred, I say, on principle as a matter of right without exacting from me or expecting *an approach to a genuflexion*.

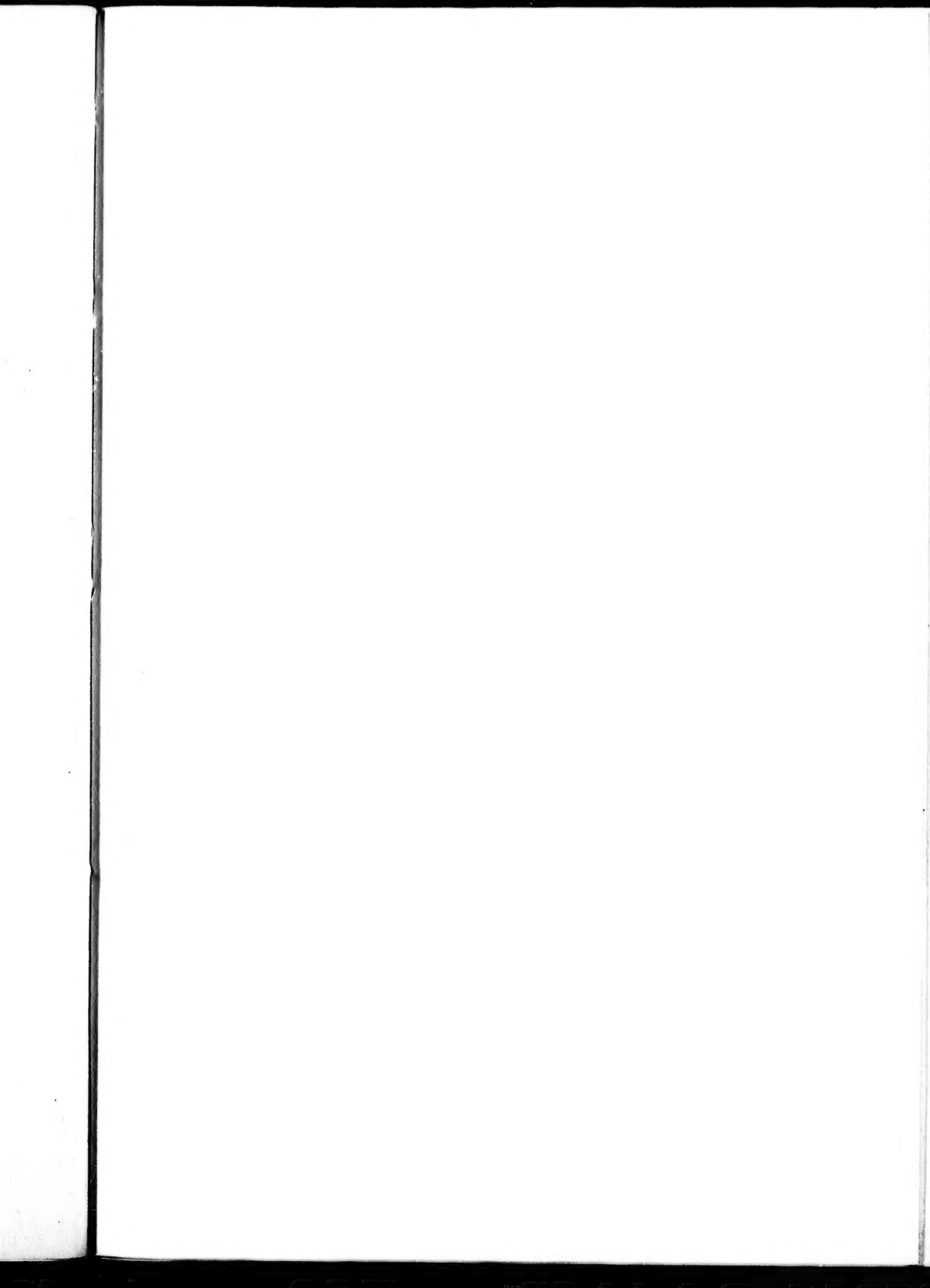
But a European, clothed for a few years with a delegated power, feeling that the receipt of his salary and the other attributes of a representative of royalty will always last his time, need not and will not trouble himself about the future. All men, aye and all women, are fond of power and of the court which the multitude pays to power, and so long as human beings can be found in Canada to offer a sort of adulation which could scarcely be expected from the dusky warriors of the Punjaub assembled in Durbar at Lahore, Governors General will condescend to pocket their \$50,000 and perquisites, without being inconveniently solicitous concerning the future condition or probable fate of the Protestant minority in Quebec.

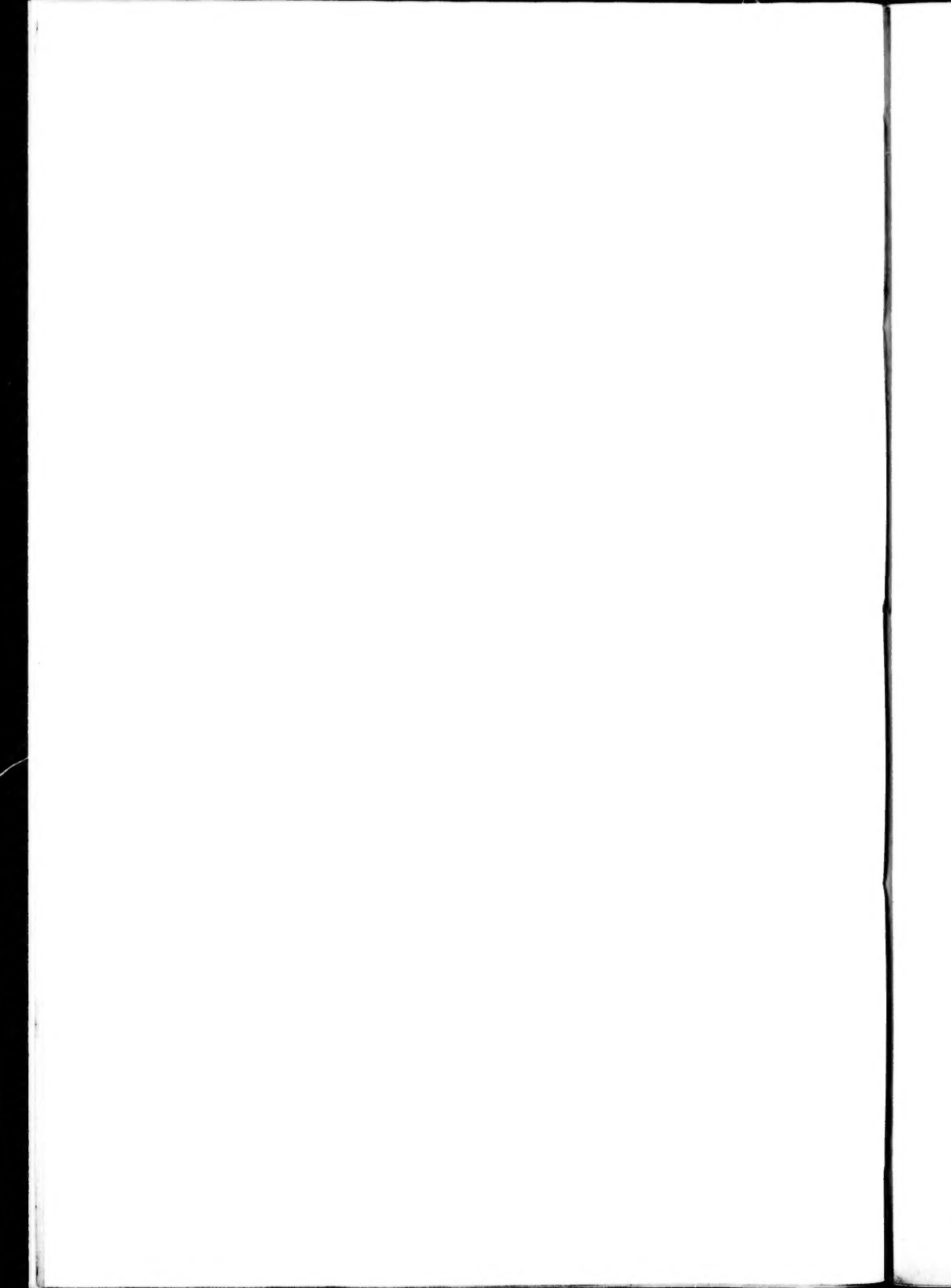
Now, hoping that the foregoing lines may not be quite overlooked by my co-religionists of Ontario, of New Brunswick and of Nova Scotia, I will state another fact:—

The city of Quebec with a population of 59,000, of which some 4,000 are Protestants, returns three members to the House of Commons, three to the Provincial Assembly, and it has successively by *quasi* Royal mandate had two Legislative Councillors as well as three Senators, the whole eleven, members of the Church of Rome.

The Protestant population is thus altogether as much ignored as it was on the eve of the massacre of St. Bartholomew; but, as the poet puts into the mouth of the gladiator, "butchered to make a Roman holiday" an invocation to the Goths, so the Protestants of Quebec may, and probably do, indulge in the hope that their descendants may eventually be relieved by the generous intervention of a kindred people.

My excellent constitution and life-long abhorrence of vice have enabled me to speak and act with vigor in my 79th year, and, as I cannot derive consolation from the profes-





sion of two religions like McNabb, or find solace in drink like McDonald, I require some mental occupation. Hence that position, (my rightful position in the Senate of which I have been deprived in favor of an uneducated European) would have enabled me to diffuse valuable information touching this section.

Without such information the most patriotic, *disinterested* and efficient administration cannot successfully govern a people composed of heterogeneous materials of various origins, professing different creeds, and speaking different languages: and the dissensions and the crimes of which Manitoba has been, of which New Brunswick is now, the scene, as well as the political complications arising therefrom, might have been much lessened, if not altogether averted, by an honest and judicious selection of means of communication between the Government and the people, and especially by the exhibition of some sympathy for the minority as well as of some regard for native merit.

But in this mixed population, in which the Protestants are disfranchised, the Attorney General who prosecutes, the constables who summon the witnesses and the jury, the sheriff who selects the jury, the majority of the jury, the witnesses to prove the charge, the clerk of the Crown who swears in the jury and records the verdict, and the judge who charges and directs the jury and awards the punishment might be, and at this day, on any trial, would all most certainly be Papists. But if the prisoner at the Bar were a Protestant, charged with any infraction of any rule in which the Priesthood were interested, the accused might be unjustly dealt with. In this case, then, and in many others easily imagined, a Protestant senator, possessing moral courage, might operate as a check on popish malice, for it would be known that from his place in Parliament he could denounce all the wrong doers. Even in Mexico, the terror inspired by the Priesthood is producing a salutary effect. I did, therefore, hope that those who govern here would have extended some protection to the Protestant population, by naming at least



one senator of that denomination ; nor, seeing the lawlessness of the Papists of Montreal, shall we have long to wait for scenes and examples all tending to prove the wrong that is systematically done to Protestants.

Some duties requiring intellectual occupation in connexion with Legislative measures might thus have fallen to me. They would have tended to prolong my life, and I should gladly have devoted myself to their performance, *gratuitously* devoted myself, for unlike Mr. Ferrier, who draws two salaries for the pretended performance of impossible official functions, I object to stipendiary Legislators.

But, the Viceroy and his advisers may possibly be disposed to favor the extension of Republican institutions over the whole continent ; or, while they enjoy present advantages, they may be perfectly indifferent to the future ; or they may be ignorant of the difference between after dinner cheering and the loyalty that entails the cheerful sacrifice of life. Be that as it may, so long as the Senate connives at the grabbing of two salaries by one of its members who affects *at one and the same time* to be present and actively engaged in two Legislative bodies assembled in two different halls, upwards of two hundred miles apart, no one can wonder at the occurrence of Pacific Scandals or Tanneries Land Swaps, or at any kind of official turpitude.

It is thus, however, demonstrated that the post of honor is "a private station" and I shall govern myself accordingly.

A. GUGY.

QUEBEC, February, 1875.

